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ACTION EUR-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9252

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 1839

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, NATO, DA, CI, GR, SP

SUBJECT: FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTS ON CHILE AND US SUPPORT FOR
FASCIST REGIMES

REF: COPENHAGEN 1533 AND 1772 (NOTAL)

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SUMMARY: FORMER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN MINISTER K.B. ANDERSEN TOLD EMBOFF THAT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S SPONSORSHIP OF COPENHAGEN TRIBUNAL ON CRIMES OF JUNTA IN CHILE WAS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH SDP FOREIGN POLICY AND OFFICIALLY ENDORSED BY PARTY LEADERSHIP. PARTY CHAIRMAN ANKER JORGENSEN, OR VICE CHAIRMAN KJELD OLESEN WOULD HAVE OPENED THE TRIBUNAL IN PLACE OF ANDERSEN HAD THEY NOT BEEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY. CITING CHILE AS EXAMPLE, ANDERSEN TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO "U.S. TENDENCY TO SUPPORT FASCIST REGIMES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD" AND WARNED THAT AN EVENTUAL U.S. PROPOSAL FOR SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WOULD RESULT IN DANISH VETO. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF CALLED ON ANDERSEN TO DISCUSS INFORMALLY SDP DECISION TO SPONSOR JUNE 26-27 ANTI-JUNTA TRIBUNAL IN COPENHAGEN. ANDERSEN STATED THAT INITIATIVE FOR THIS ACTION HAD BEEN TAKEN BY OLE ESPERSEN, LEFT-WING SOCDEM MP AND SOLE DANISH MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION. THE LATTER'S REPORT TO SDP PARTY LEADERS ON TRIALS HE OBSERVED DURING RECENT VISIT TO CHILE (SEE REFTTEL) CONVINCED PARTY IT SHOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY TO INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION'S REQUEST TO HOLD TRIBUNAL IN COPENHAGEN. SDP LEADERSHIP DECIDED TO FINANCE THE PROJECT, WITH CONTRIBUTION FROM SDP'S SOLIDARITY FUND, AUGMENTED BY DIRECT GRANT FROM DANISH TRADE UNION FEDERATION (LO).

2. IN RESPONSE TO ENQUIRY REGARDING SDP'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PARTICIPATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES AND FRONT ORGANIZATIONS IN SUCH CASES, ANDERSEN CLAIMED TO BE UNINFORMED REGARDING SPECIFIC POLITICAL BACKING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHILE COMMITTEE IN HELSINKI, STATING SIMPLY THAT HE BELIEVED IT WAS CONTROLLED BY FINNISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. MORE PERTINENT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE SAID, WAS FACT THAT ALLENDE REGIME IN CHILE HAD BEEN SUPPORTED BY COMMUNISTS, LEFT-SOCIALISTS (SOCIALIST PARTY OF CHILE) AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (RADICAL PARTY). ANDERSEN POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT IN DENMARK ONLY THREE ORGANIZATIONS HAD OFFICIALLY SPONSORED THE TRIBUNAL, THE SDP, THE SDP SOLIDARITY FUND AND THE SALVADOR ALLENDE COMMITTEE. THE LATTER WAS COMMUNIST-DOMINATED COMMITTEE WHICH HAD WITHDRAWN IN 1973 FROM MORE BROADLY

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LEFTIST CHILE COMMITTEE. THE DANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (DKP) AND THE SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY (SF) HAD NOT BEEN PERMITTED ROLE OF CO-SPONSOR, BUT THESE PARTIES AND THE RADICAL LIBERALS HAD SENT OFFICIAL DELEGATES TO ATTEND THE TRIBUNAL.

3. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S COMPLAINT THAT ANTI-AMERICAN CHARGES HAD BEEN FEATURED IN PRESS COVERAGE, ANDERSEN

SAID THAT, AS HOST, SDP HAD NOT ATTEMPTED TO IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS ON OTHER PARTICIPANTS. HOWEVER, BOTH ESPERSEN AND ANDERSEN HAD EMPHASIZED IN THEIR PRESENTATIONS THAT PURPOSE OF THE TRIBUNAL WAS FACT-FINDING NOT JUDGEMENT OR CONDEMNATION.

4. IN THIS CONNECTION, ANDERSEN STATED THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT THE U.S. WAS HEAVILY INVOLVED "ECONOMICALLY, MILITARILY AND POLITICALLY" IN THE OVERTHROW OF THE ALLENDE REGIME, BUT THAT HE HAD NEVER PUBLICLY SAID SO. IN ALL HIS STATEMENTS DURING COUP PERIOD (WHEN HE WAS FOREIGN MINISTER) HE HAD REFRAINED FROM ANY COMMENT REGARDING U.S. ROLE, IN LINE WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLICY. IF THE PARTY WISHED TO TAKE AN ANTI-AMERICAN POSITION, HE ADDED, NOTHING WOULD BE EASIER THAN TO EXPLOIT COMMON DANISH SUSPICION THAT U.S. HAD BEEN INVOLVED. (AS A MEMBER OF FOLKETING'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, ANDERSEN ADMITTED HAVING BEEN BRIEFED ON EVENTS AS REPORTED BY DANISH CHARGE IN SANTIAGO, BUT APPARENTLY ASSIGNED THOSE REPORTS LITTLE CREDIBILITY. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION HE QUALIFIED HIS STATEMENT REGARDING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, BUT COMMENTED THAT FINANCING OF THE TRUCKERS STRIKE AMOUNTED TO THE SAME THING.)

5. TOWARD END OF CONVERSATION, ANDERSEN DECLARED THAT THE DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SIMPLY COULDN'T ACCEPT U.S. TENDENCY TO SUPPORT FASCIST REGIMES IN THE WORLD. THE REFERENCE IN SECOND PARAGRAPH OF NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES HAD BEEN, AS FAR AS HE REMEMBERED, INCLUDED AT THE REQUEST OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATE, BUT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, HE SAID, INTERPRET THAT PARAGRAPH IN A DIFFERENT MANNER THAN THE U.S., APPARENTLY DOES.

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6. IN THIS CONNECTION, ANDERSEN SAID HE HAD PRESSED PRIMIN HARTLING AND FONMIN GULDBERG TO HAVE DANISH REP AT OTTAWA NAC MINISTERIAL TAKE MORE DIRECTLY CRITICAL LINE ON GREECE THAN HE HAD. MOREOVER, ANDERSEN STATED: "IF U.S. GOVERNMENT PROPOSES SPAIN FOR MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, THE DANISH GOVERNMENT - ANY DANISH GOVERNMENT - WOULD HAVE TO VETO. THERE SIMPLY IS NO POSSIBILITY OF A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY FOR SPANISH MEMBERSHIP*" ANDERSEN ADDED THAT "SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD, CONSEQUENTLY, FORCE AN ELECTION, AND DENMARK, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITS HISTORY, WOULD FIGHT AN ELECTION OVER A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE."

7. COMMENT: THE DECISION TO SPONSOR THE CHILE TRIBUNAL SHOULD BE SEEN IN PART AS A CONCESSION BY SDP LEADERSHIP TO THE PARTY'S LEFT WING. ESPERSEN IS A TALENTED AND

AMBITIOUS FIRST-TERM MP, WHO IS ANXIOUS TO MAKE A NAME FOR HIMSELF. AS THE PARTY'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN, ANDERSEN HIMSELF IS BEING CHALLENGED BY ANOTHER LEFT WING NEWCOMER TO SOCDEM RANKS IN PARLIAMENT, LASSE BUDTZ, A FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMENTATOR FOR DANISH TV, WHO JOINED THE ALLENDE COMMITTEE VOLUNTARILY WITHOUT FIRST CLEARING WITH ANDERSEN. THE LATTER FEELS THIS COMPETITION KEENLY AND USES EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT TO EMBOFFS HOW RADICAL AND ANTI-AMERICAN BUDTZ IS.

8. THIS INTERNAL PARTY FACTOR IS NOT, HOWEVER, THE WHOLE PICTURE. ANDERSEN'S VIEWS REGARDING THE U.S. ROLE IN CHILE - AND ALLEGED AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR OTHER NON-DEMOCRATIC REGIMES - ARE WIDELY SHARED BY OTHER SOCDEMS. THIS IS ONE REASON THE PARTY TENDS TO DEFEND NATO ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT CONTRIBUTES TO DETENTE BY PROVIDING THE BARGAINING CHIPS WITH WHICH TO NEGOTIATE MUTUAL DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE.

9. ON SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, ANDERSEN DID NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SPAIN AS PRESENTLY GOVERNED OR AS IT MIGHT BE AFTER FRANCO'S PASSING. IN THE EMBASSY'S OPINION, ANDERSEN IS PROBABLY CORRECT IN HIS VIEW THAT AT PRESENT THE DANISH PARLIAMENT WOULD NOT SUSTAIN A GOVERNMENT WHICH DID NOT VETO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP.
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